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ROUND TABLE

THE FOUR POWERS CONFER

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A Radio Discussion by HARLEY MACNAIR
FRANKLIN SCOTT *and* QUINCY WRIGHT

Including
The Complete Texts of the Four-Power Declarations

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UMBER 299 * * * DECEMBER 12, 1943

Around the Round Table . . . .

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FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, associate professor of modern history at Northwestern University, received his undergraduate training at the University of Chicago, where he was granted a Ph.B. degree. Continuing his studies there, he was awarded an M.A. degree before he went to Harvard to receive his Ph.D. He has also studied and done extensive research abroad, especially at the University of Stockholm, Sweden, and in the Scandinavian countries. He has taught at Simpson College, Radcliffe, and the University of Wisconsin. He is a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and is the author of *Bernadotte and the Fall of Napoleon* (1935), which in 1937 was translated into Swedish. Professor Scott is now engaged in preparing a general history of Scandinavia.

QUINCY WRIGHT, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, received his undergraduate training at Lombard College and was granted his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Illinois. Before coming to the University of Chicago, he taught political science at Harvard University and the University of Minnesota. In 1918 and 1921 he served as a special assistant on international law to the United States Navy Department. He is a member of the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and the author of many books on international relations, among which are: *Enforcement of International Law through Municipal Law in the United States* (1916); *Control of American Foreign Relations* (1922); *Mandates under the League of Nations* (1930); *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* (1935); and the recent authoritative two-volume work, *A Study of War* (1942).

THE FOUR POWERS CONFER

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MR. WRIGHT: This is Bill-of-Rights Week. Newspapers all over the country are celebrating the incorporation of a bill of rights into the United States Constitution.

This also has a significance for international affairs, because the conferences out of which the peace coming after this war is growing have emphasized human rights. The Four Freedoms, the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration of the United Nations, the Moscow Declaration on Italy, and now the Teheran Declaration—all of them—referred to the aim of establishing human rights and basing this peace upon the opinion and in the interest of the people of the world.

Scott, what do you think of this supposition?

MR. SCOTT: I think that it is quite right. It is extremely interesting and important. Here we have the development of a renewed system of conferences among the statesmen of the great powers, taking place while they are fighting a war, in order to integrate that war and in order to foresee the problems of the peace to come.

It reminds me very much of a similar system of conferences begun during the late Napoleonic Wars and carried on in the years afterward in the development of the system of the concert of Europe, which helped to establish peace through the nineteenth century.

Don't you think that that is a fair interpretation?

MR. MACNAIR: I agree with you in part, and in part I totally disagree with you.

I see nothing new in this system, as it is evolving at the present time, except possibly in the idea of having a series of preliminary meetings among those who are now clearly to become victors in order to discuss what shall be done in their own interests and in the interests of the defeated.

MR. WRIGHT: I see a new procedure, MacNair. It seems to me that the old procedure of armistice, peace conference, and peace treaty may be superseded. We are seeing in these conferences the growth of the terms of the transitional period and of the peace while the fighting is still going on. It is found in a series of declarations by these powers, speaking in behalf of the community of nations as a whole, with increasing concreteness as one declaration succeeds another.

MR. SCOTT: That habit now of speaking in terms of the peoples of the world as a whole is interestingly similar to the habit of the statesmen, after Vienna, of speaking, acting, and thinking in terms of Europe as a whole. They built a peace not on the basis of a balance of power but on the basis of the total interests of all peoples concerned. It was a great-power thing, yes—and, in that sense, it was aristocratic. The small states, however, could participate in the benefits of the peace and order which were established.

MR. MACNAIR: I disagree with both of you. You assume, Scott, that the balance-of-power idea is going by the board.

MR. SCOTT: I hope so.

MR. MACNAIR: You may hope so, but you give no proof of it. You have not given one suggestion to indicate that balance of power is going by the board. I think that practically everything that is

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The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE. *Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.*

happening at the present time indicates that it is not going by the board.

As for your other idea, Wright—that the peoples of the world are going to get something now that they have never gotten before—I think it is equally idealistic and quite equally possibly contrary to fact.

MR. WRIGHT: It is difficult to peer into the future, and we can judge only by what the intentions are that are expressed by the powers.

I think that we should notice some important differences between the procedures applied now and those at the time of the Conference of Vienna. You referred to the balance of power. Certainly, at the present time, the statesmen are saying that the balance of power is to be superseded by a system of collective security. We should also notice that the Peace of Vienna was based upon the principle of legitimacy, the right of absolute monarchs in their territory. This peace is based upon human rights, and the rights of individuals, and the principles of democracy.[1]

MR. SCOTT: I think that that is correct; the principle of legitimacy was the principle applied in that particular age. Now we have a different principle, but the method remains interestingly similar. The method, if applied to the world as a whole, may, we hope, attain far better results.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, of course.

MR. SCOTT: In connection with this conference system, I think

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[1] The Congress of Vienna (1814–15) met to decide the disposition of the empire of Napoleon. The Congress began toward the end of September, 1814, and all Europe sent its most important statesmen. The boundary lines which were laid down by the Congress lasted, except for one or two exceptions, for over forty years. The statesmen successfully worked out their principle of a balance of power, but territories were not divided with any reference to nationalities or to the wishes of the inhabitants, and there was no means of international relations established by which the powers could work together to adapt the settlement to the changing times of the nineteenth century.

that not only do we need to remember the specific conferences that have been mentioned at Teheran and at Cairo, where the leaders of Russia and Britain and the United States got together in one case and where the leaders of Britain, the United States, and China got together in another case, but also we need to integrate with those such conferences as that recently held at Atlantic City, wherein both the great powers and large numbers of the small states got together to build specific plans for the relief and rehabilitation of peoples all over the world.[2]

MR. WRIGHT: You are emphasizing the fact that this is not merely a declaration of principles but also the establishment of actual agencies and conferences for giving effect to some of those principles while the fighting is still going on.

MR. SCOTT: Exactly. It is a system.

MR. MACNAIR: You gentlemen are extremely interesting on questions of legitimacy and illegitimacy. History and literature are full of discussions of this very, very important problem. What I would like to suggest is that in this present case, and as far as one can see, half the world is going to be treated to a question of illegitimacy and the other half of the world is going to be treated to a question of legitimacy. In other words, in Europe we are going to apply legitimacy by saying nothing on certain points. In the other part of the world we are going to apply illegitimacy by denuding Japan of what we are pleased to consider her illegitimate possessions.

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[2] The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which includes representatives of all the United Nations, met recently in Atlantic City, New Jersey, to work out plans for united world relief and rehabilitation. On December 7, 1943, Secretary of State Hull issued a statement to the United States Congress, urging the authorization of funds "for full and effective participation by this country" in the work of the UNRRA. He said: "This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of the armies of the United Nations, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace, but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict."

Mr. Scott: Not necessarily. After all, these conferences have already shown the possibility of the great powers' getting together on the issues which specifically concern them.

Mr. MacNair: You mean the great powers who are victorious!

Mr. Scott: That is right. I mean those who hope to be victorious—and we certainly hope will be—and who then, at the same time, integrate their plans on local issues with the plans of smaller states. For example, the still more recent conference at Cairo among the Turks, the British, and the American representatives indicates that, in connection with the Near East, Turkey is being brought into consultation with the great powers.

Mr. Wright: Let us consider for a moment the specific problems of Europe which were dealt with at the Teheran Conferences by Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt.

Mr. Scott: How would you sum up, Wright, exactly what was accomplished in those conferences?

Mr. Wright: Militarily, there was a statement that agreement had been reached upon the method of destroying the armed forces of Germany. Politically, there was a statement of the acceptance of responsibility by the three powers for bringing about the destruction of German military power and ushering in a new world.

Mr. MacNair: That is quite original!

Mr. Wright: It was stated that the problems of collaboration of all countries were discussed. The military problem, it seems to me, is the greatest accomplishment of this conference, although naturally very little was said about it.

Mr. Scott: Definitely, the military problem is the first and the primary thing. We cannot hope to do anything with political questions until the whole military problem is solved the way we want to see it solved.

MR. MACNAIR: You feel, then, that there is something essentially new in those who are at war with Germany agreeing that they wish to defeat Germany?

MR. SCOTT: I agree that there is something new in the process of getting together in conferences and agreeing on specific methods of doing it.

MR. MACNAIR: Following the precedent established. . . . .

MR. SCOTT: Most coalition wars have been fought by little separate powers each fighting his own particular war. This particular war was being fought that way for some time. We see these peculiar side wars, such as the war between Russia and Finland (in which we do not participate), taking place alongside the great, main struggle. These conferences help to integrate that type of thing.

Napoleon was not defeated until, by a system of conferences somewhat like this, all the great states got together and agreed upon a common course of action—agreed to make the war one war.

MR. WRIGHT: It is a new departure in the technique of coalition warfare, probably facilitated by the fact that communications and transportation are so much more easy now than they were before.

MR. SCOTT: That helps.

MR. WRIGHT: I do not think, however, that the difference is as marked in the military field as it is in the political field.

MR. MACNAIR: I take issue with you there, Wright, as to anything's being new with respect to the political field. Neither with respect to the military nor with respect to the political field do I discover anything new. In the one case, we are simply (as I implied a moment ago) agreeing that we are going to defeat Germany, and it is better to agree now that we are on the way than it was perhaps to have agreed a year and a half ago, when there seemed not quite so much hope.

MR. SCOTT: Don't you think, MacNair, that the principle underlying these conferences is world unity?

MR. MACNAIR: World unity, yes. World unity—unity on the part of the victors to make sure that they get what they are after.

With respect to this political issue, I should like to point out that in the case of the so-called World War I, which really was World War II, Woodrow Wilson pointed out at that time that we—that is, the Allies and the Allied nations—were not out to swat the German people; we were out to swat the German rulers. Now we say nothing about it except first that we are going to defeat Germany, and then we say nothing as to what is going to happen to the German people.

MR. WRIGHT: There is this important difference. Those statements were made by Wilson; there were other statements made by Lloyd George and by the other Allied leaders. There was not, as I recall it, any united statement by all the leaders of the coalition against Germany until the fighting was over.

MR. SCOTT: The Fourteen Points of Wilson were a very important series of statements; but, after all, they were only statements by Wilson. They could be specific because only one man formulated them, but for that very reason they could not be implemented when it came to making the peace.

Now we have not gone beyond the possibilities of making peace on the basis of common agreements.

MR. MACNAIR: But, Scott, I would like to ask why this almost naïve spirit of optimism on your part? Why do you feel that twenty-five years ago the optimist had no chance in the world of realism, whereas now we have reached a stage in which the optimist is going to have his way? What if these men do get together? Suppose Roosevelt and Churchill and Chiang do get together at Cairo and suppose Roosevelt and Churchill and Stalin get together at Teheran, what proof do you have—in fact, what basis for belief

have you—that the things that they say today, when the war is not yet won, will be carried out when the war is won?

MR. SCOTT: I think that they are much more likely to be carried out than was anything likely to be carried out in 1918, for the simple reason that they are getting together. They are becoming acquainted, one with another.

There is a real significance in the statement that was made after Teheran that they came with firmness and determination and parted as friends. When men get to know each other, to know each other's ways of thought, then they can more likely act together.[3]

MR. WRIGHT: That spirit of collaboration, I think, is of great importance, and I think that the actual implementation to it in the organizations and conferences which have been established is extremely important.

But let us look for a moment at some of the actual conclusions, politically, which have been made in regard to Europe. We should note, first, that Austria was recognized as an independent state. That is the only definite territorial statement which has been made in regard to Europe, I believe. That was in the Moscow Declaration.[4]

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[3] The Declaration says: "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose." See page 25 for the complete text of this declaration.

[4] The Moscow Declaration on Austria stated, in part: "The governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination. They regard the annexation imposed on Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938, as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any changes effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighboring States which will be faced with similar problems to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace. . . . ." See Walter Johnson, Sir Bernard Pares, and Quincy Wright, *The Moscow Pacts: Issues and Problems*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 294, broadcast November 7, 1943, for a discussion of the Moscow Pacts and the complete texts of the agreements.

Mr. Scott: Of course, there is one thing to which MacNair referred a while ago—namely, with regard to the future of Germany. By the very fact that nothing specific is said with regard to what we are going to do with Germany territory, coupled with the statement that all nations will hope to be included in a future world order, we assume, do we not, that the Germans, as well as the Russians and the British and the Chinese and the Americans and others, will be enfolded into that world order?

Mr. Wright: I think that the statement that the armed forces of Germany on land, on sea, and in the air are to be destroyed, that the attack is to be on those armed forces and not on the German nation, is perhaps a significant statement.

Mr. MacNair: Now, Wright, isn't that lovely? That really is beautiful! Did you ever hear of Alexander the Great? Did you ever hear of Julius Caesar? Do you remember, perchance, by accident, that both Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great also went out to swat the enemy or, as the Hebrews once said, "to smite the enemy with the jawbone of an ass"? I think that that is a fairly old and well-established principle. Why so much optimism over it at the present day?

Mr. Wright: Sometimes they made all the people of the enemy slaves. Here it is emphasized that it is merely an attack upon the armed forces of this particular enemy.

Mr. MacNair: That is fine! How do you know that they are not going to make the German people slaves? I do not mean to imply that they are, but nothing has been said.

Mr. Scott: Because of this implication that all peoples are to be included in a world order as soon as they become democratic and are willing to cooperate. Actually we have, with regard to Germany, only two alternatives—the annihilation of Germany completely, ...

Mr. MacNair: . . . . which is utterly impossible . . . .

Mr. Scott: . . . . which is utterly impossible, or the inclusion of the German people in the family of nations. This is probable, since it is utterly impossible on any long-time basis to have an ostracized people within a unified world.

Mr. MacNair: I am glad to see that you realize that there is such a thing as the passage of time in history. I notice that you do not say when this noble concept with respect to the German people is going to be put into effect. It is when those who are the winners decide that Germany is in a properly contrite condition to come in and be saved.

Mr. Scott: That is necessarily true.

Mr. Wright: There is a recognition that a time will come when Germany can be regarded as one of the peace-loving nations. But let us move on to the Far East.

Mr. Scott: Before we move to the Far East, I think that we ought to notice one thing with regard to the conferences and their lack of specific settlements on European questions. For instance, there is the question of the Polish border, to which one columnist referred scathingly the other day by saying that if we did not settle the question of the Polish frontiers now, that this matter might wreck the peace. I would say, in turn, that if certain specific territorial settlements are made now (on such things as Poland), that that might well wreck the war.

Mr. Wright: Yes, I agree. I think that the great problem of statesmanship is to time statements so that they will succeed each other in the proper order and occur at the time when opinion is ripe for them.

Mr. MacNair: I am delighted to see you two gentlemen in such cooperative attitude with respect to preserving the war. It is a point really well taken. If we are going to have a good war, we ought to take measures to preserve it, just as we take measures to preserve democracy.

MR. SCOTT: We must at least take measures to fight it efficiently.

MR. MACNAIR: Efficiently, yes. But how long?

MR. WRIGHT: There is no effort to preserve the war. The effort is to bring it to a conclusion at the earliest possible moment with a complete military victory for the United Nations.

MacNair, what would you say were the accomplishments of the Cairo Conference, primarily on the Far East?

MR. MACNAIR: I should say that, in contrast to the somewhat vague and obvious generalities with respect to the plans for Europe, those with respect to the Far East in part are extremely definite—very, very definite.

In the first place, of course, we make it clear to Japan, as we are making it clear to Germany, that it is our full intent and purpose to smash Japan. We are going to fix Japan so that she will not trouble us for, say, at least another twenty-five years.

MR. WRIGHT: In this connection, not only is it the destruction of the military forces of Japan that is mentioned but there is also a definite statement that Japan is to be stripped of the territory which she has robbed her neighbors of in the immediate past.

MR. MACNAIR: Of course, it was not necessary to say the same with respect to Germany, because, after all, Germany had been stripped a few times before; and, once you play strip poker and succeed, you do not have to return to strip poker, at least until the other fellow has something to strip.

In the case of Japan, she has been winning for quite a number of years—for about fifty years—and now the situation looks as if it were one in which Japan is going to be stripped, which is all very nice. But the question is who is going to get the strippings.

MR. SCOTT: I think that there are some very interesting reasons for the contrast between the treatment of Japan and the treatment of Germany in these declarations. We are fighting a psychological war against Germany. We do not want the Germans to know just what is going to happen to them, and so we say nothing about it.

JAPAN HOLDS DOMINION OVER ONE-QUARTER OF THE PEOPLE OF THE EARTH

With regard to Japan, our policy is fairly clear for one thing. For another thing, I imagine that the Chinese demanded a definite declaration on that. Because they have been fighting a long rear-guard action, they need the bolstering of support from their Allies.

MR. MACNAIR: Not only have the Chinese been fighting this type of action that you mention (and it is well worth while for the rest of the United Nations to remember that China had been fighting this war for years before the United States got into it), but I would like to point out an extremely significant aspect, namely, the ideological foundation for China's attitude with respect to Japan.

You want to bear in mind that Japan has two things which are of superlative value in fighting the type of war which Japan is fighting —namely, a war for the world. Those two things are, first, a remarkable ideology—a system of national faith called Shinto—which teaches that the Japanese are a unique, specially created people, living in a unique and specially created country. This, because of their uniqueness and because of their heavenly foundation and their heaven-descended rulers, fits them marvelously for going on to win the world.

The second aspect is the way in which the government of Japan is absolutely bound up with this philosophy. I would like to point out that the Chinese, more clearly and more specifically than any other people, are aware of the tremendous dangers to the war effort for the entire world than are any other people.[5]

MR. WRIGHT: We have clearly indicated that we want to get rid of this aggressive ideology in Japan. Of course, that is a tremendously difficult problem.

It is hoped, however, that the instruments by which Japan has

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[5] For a discussion and analysis of the opposing ideologies and the divergences and conflicts of cultures between Japan and China see Harley F. MacNair, *The Real Conflict between China and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

The dates marked indicate the year of acquisition by Japan

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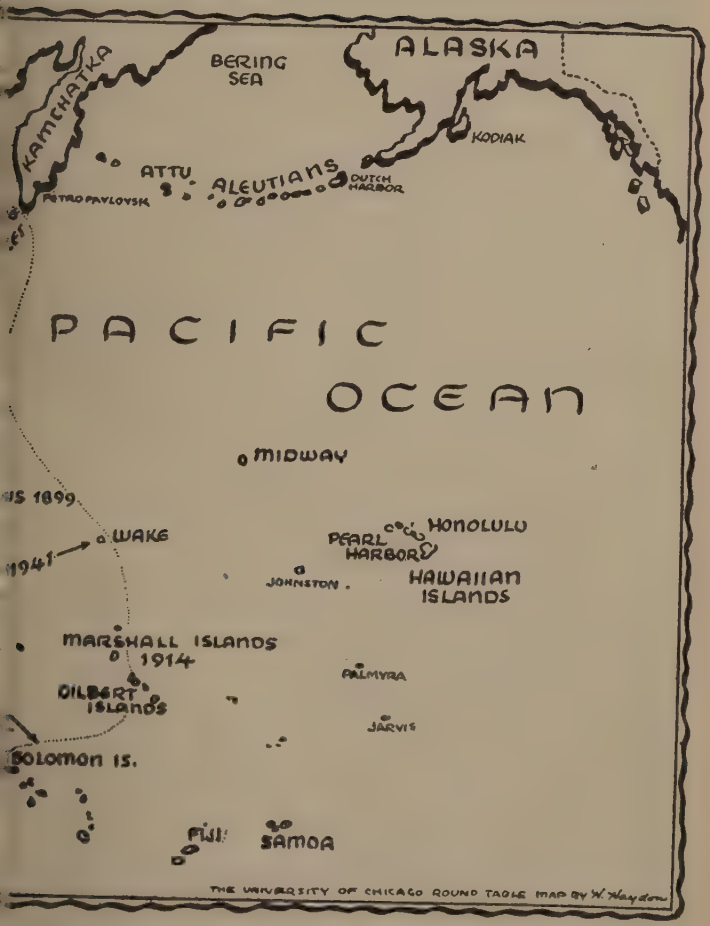
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE MAP BY W. Hayden

gone so far in realizing an aggressive ideology may be done away with, and I may say that I am not sure that that ideology cannot be changed. It seemed to me that in the 1920's there were some hopeful indications of a minority Japanese opinion.

MR. MACNAIR: The fact that you point out that in the 1920's there was a hope for that and that in the 1930's that hope went blinking is a point that should not be forgotten by the rest of the world, and most specifically by the United States, which, in a sense, has entered upon something in the nature of a Carthaginian war with Japan on the other side of the Pacific.

MR. WRIGHT: There is a very important problem here of finding some way by which Japan can provide for her population, which is going to be crowded into the islands, after she is stripped of all her adjacent possessions. That is a problem which certainly must be faced, and an extremely important one.

MR. SCOTT: We do not want to make out of Japan the same kind of revengeful, resentful economy and nationalistic populace which Germany was made after 1919.

MR. MACNAIR: I am inclined to disagree with you on that. I do not think that any pious illusion on the part of a college professor, or a group of college professors on a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, is going to have any material effect upon any spirit of revenge or vengefulness or "wanting" to get even on the part of the Japanese people.

MR. SCOTT: Of course, we are not talking, MacNair, about professorial policy. We are really talking about statesmanship.

MR. MACNAIR: We are professors talking about things which are of extreme importance to the rest of the world. What I would like to make clear is that, unless the rest of the world agrees upon making it impossible for Japan to stage a comeback in twenty-five years, or less, in the way in which Germany staged a comeback in twenty-five years, or less, we are going to have something which

will not only endanger but which will likely result in the sinking of the United States twenty-five years hence.

MR. SCOTT: I quite agree. The important thing is to find the method by which we can permanently curb Japan.

MR. MACNAIR: I can suggest one thing, and that is to wreck the system of Shinto and the government of Japan, which are inextricably bound. If you leave a state system of philosophy with a government which is the result of that system of philosophy, you are going to have what we already indicated.

If you wreck that system of philosophy—if you have the United Nations (and I say all the United Nations, I mean including China) hold Japan for a matter of thirty years and educate the Japanese people, and if you bring in a form of government which will go against this idea of Shinto—then you will have a way of saving the rest of the world and, incidentally, of saving the United States.

MR. SCOTT: In other words, what we need is something in addition to the declarations made at Cairo. They went only a small portion of the way. Now we need to follow policies far more completely worked out than that. Isn't that it?

MR. WRIGHT: Yes. There is another point, too, that I think we should emphasize. You referred to the importance of this declaration in reviving the spirit of China. We have not referred to the recognition of the eventual independence of Korea. Korea may be an ally before the war is over, and I think that we should note that this will encourage the revolt at the proper moment by the Korean people.

MR. MACNAIR: You are absolutely right on that question. You could not have been righter on any question than to call attention to this question of Korea.

If Korea, after having been an independent country—that is, a nation with its own civilization and culture—for centuries and, after having been swallowed by Japan for a matter of thirty-three or

forty years, is regurgitated by Japan (to be sure, at the instance of the United Nations), then the whole Orient will realize that there is such a question as the application of justice and that there is a question of morality involved in world politics.

MR. SCOTT: There are some other interesting "lacks," it seems to me, in connection with these Cairo declarations—lacks comparable to the omission of any mention of Poland and other local frontiers in Europe.

Specifically, there is no mention in the Cairo Declaration as to what is to be done with the colonial empires of France, Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States in the Far East. Isn't that one of the very significant things?

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, it is another of those questions where the statesmen undoubtedly felt that time had not yet arrived for a statement. It is to be noted, however, that they did state very explicitly that they covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

MR. MACNAIR: That is fine.

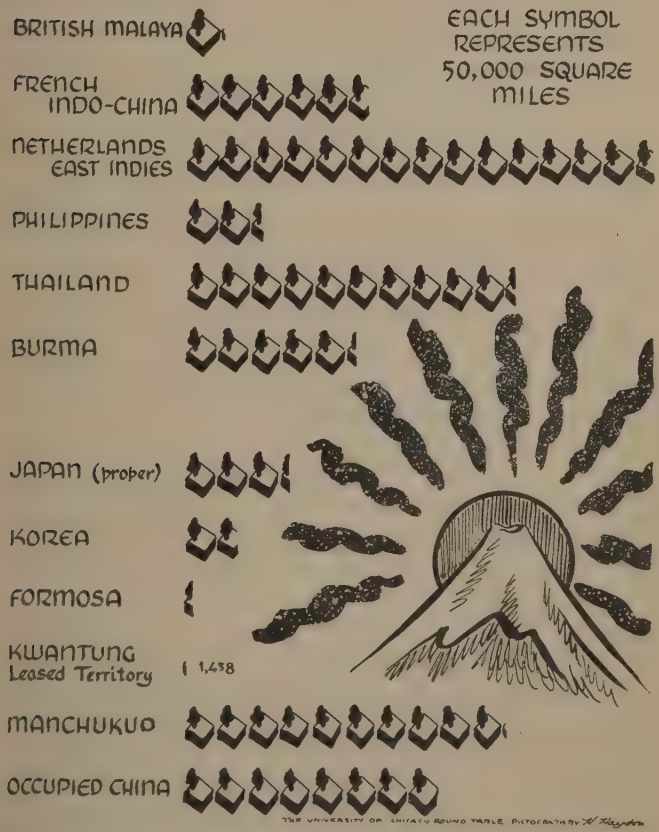
MR. SCOTT: No, but that does not deal with the question of what is going to happen to their own territories which have just recently been lost.

MR. MACNAIR: Precisely! Precisely! That point is one that must be considered, not simply by the government at Washington or by the government in London or in Moscow or in Chungking, but by the peoples of these countries. The peoples of these countries, and most particularly the people of the United States, must make up their mind that these elements of justice are to be carried out.

MR. WRIGHT: I think that there is another very significant point to be made, and that is that these recent declarations indicate that the Atlantic Charter is world wide. There was at one time, as you know, some controversy as to whether it applied to the Far East. It is notable that in the Iran Declaration, made at Teheran, there

JAPAN'S TERRITORIAL HOLDINGS

1943



The total area which is controlled by Japan at the present time is 3,130,831 square miles. The area of the United States is 3,022,000 square miles.

is an explicit declaration that that applies to Iran, or to Persia, as it used to be called. The Atlantic Charter applies to it. Also the recognition of the position of China as one of the four great powers indicates that the Atlantic Charter is universally applicable.

MR. SCOTT: Yes. Those are some of the specific things that are mentioned that are in the picture. The case of Iran's being brought into the thing is another example of the great powers working together with the small powers in local situations.

All in all, Marshal Smuts was correct, I imagine, when he said, only a couple of days ago, that what we do not know about these declarations is more important than what we do know. Decisions have been reached at these conferences which will be announced in words and in action in the years to come.

MR. WRIGHT: You are absolutely right, but I think that the outstanding point which we should notice is the treatment politically of the world as a unit. While Europe and the Far East were treated separately as far as military problems are concerned, owing doubtless to the fact that Russia is not at war with Japan, politically the world is treated as a unit. It is stated in the Moscow Declaration that during the transitional period the four powers, including notably China with the other three, are to assume responsibility, in the name of the world community as a whole, for building the new world order.[6]

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[6] The joint four-nation declaration says, in part: "The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China . . . . jointly declare . . . . that they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations. . . . ." See footnote 4.

Mr. Scott: Yes. These conferences indicate the beginning of the creation of a system by which the world can really act in united fashion.

Mr. MacNair: That is very true, Scott, and it is equally true, I feel, Wright, in what you have said. But the point that seems to me of absolutely superlative importance in the question at this moment, and during the next few months and perhaps the next few years, is whether the people of the United States remember their responsibilities. If the people of the United States let down the world, as certainly to a very great extent they did twenty-five years ago, nothing that the Russians or the Chinese or the British can do will be able to save the the world again. Not only can the world not be saved but what may be of special interest to even middle westerners in the United States is that the United States itself will not be saved.

Mr. Wright: I think that the powers in these various declarations on numerous occasions recognize the absolute necessity of continued collaboration among the big four. For instance, in the Moscow Conference they stated that the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war must be continued into the period of the peace, following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic, and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted.

Mr. MacNair: That is a noble conception nobly stated. I wish I had written it myself. I might go down in history. But I would like to add to it that there is a very definite and practical question, namely, How is that nobly conceived statement to be put into effect?

Mr. Roosevelt makes certain statements; so did Mr. Wilson. The Prime Minister of Great Britain makes certain statements; other prime ministers have also. How about Mr. Chiang Kai-shek in China?

Mr. Wright: Let me answer that. I think that it comes about through the continuity of these conferences. The men meet to-

gether, and they meet successively, and in that way their spirit of collaboration is carried on.

MR. SCOTT: It has often been sneered at as idealism to conceive of a world order which would really work. Actually, it is not idealism. It is the only common-sense realism in the twentieth century, and the peoples of the United States, as the peoples of Russia and the peoples of China and the peoples of Timbuktu, must recognize and acknowledge that their own self-interest is bound up in the interests and achievements of all the peoples of the earth.

MR. MACNAIR: Absolutely. Not only their self-interest, my dear Scott, but their absolute right to live—self-preservation itself.

MR. SCOTT: A nation may die.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes. It is a matter of interest, self-interest, particularly of the democracies, that a system of collective security be established. In this connection the responsibility of the United States, which is the key power in all this work and which, as MacNair pointed out, failed to collaborate in the earlier war, must carry on.

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The Complete Texts of

THE DECLARATIONS ISSUED AT THE RECENT CONFERENCES among the Various Powers

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The Joint Communiqué on the Cairo Conference

President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa.

The following general statement was issued:

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

"The three great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air. This pressure is already rising.

"The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan.

"They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

"It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Man-

churia, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

"Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

"The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

"With these objects in view, the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

The Teheran Declaration

We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met these four days past in this capital of our ally, Iran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy. We expressed our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from east, west, and south.

The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming

masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into a world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

From these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose.

Signed at Teheran December 1, 1943

ROOSEVELT, STALIN, CHURCHILL

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The Declaration on Iran

The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three governments regarding their relations with Iran.

The Governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given

in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union.

The three governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran, and they are agreed that they will continue to make available to the Government of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw material and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of the other members of the United Nations by conferences of international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran together with all other peace-loving nations in the establishment of international peace, security, and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe.

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The Communiqué on the Turkish Meeting

Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States; M. Ismet Inonu, president of the Turkish Republic; and Winston Churchill, prime minister of the United Kingdom, met in Cairo on December 4, 5, and 6, 1943.

Anthony Eden, his Britannic Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; Numan Menemencioglu, minister of foreign affairs for Turkey; and Harry Hopkins took part in their deliberations.

Participation in this conference of the head of the Turkish state in response to a cordial invitation addressed to him by the United States, the British, and the Soviet Governments bears striking testimony to the strength of the alliance which unites Great Britain and Turkey and to the firm friendship existing between the Turkish people and the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

President Roosevelt and Inonu and Prime Minister Churchill reviewed the general political situation and examined at length the policy to be followed, taking into account the joint and several interests of the three countries.

A study of all the problems in a spirit of understanding and loyalty showed that the closest unity existed between the United States of America, Turkey and Great Britain in their attitude to the world situation.

The conversations in Cairo consequently have been most useful and most fruitful for the future of the relations between the four countries concerned.

The identity of interest and of views of the great American and British democracies with those of the Soviet Union, as also the traditional relations and friendship existing between these three powers and Turkey, has been reaffirmed throughout the proceedings of the Cairo conference.

What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion what is the importance of the Cairo Declaration? Should Japan be stripped of all her conquests? What should be done with the Pacific islands that Japan has seized or occupied since 1914? Is there need for the statement of a Pacific Charter that would mean freedom for the conquered and colonial peoples?

2. Does the Cairo Declaration assume that the treaty settling the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 will stand as international law and that Russia's former occupancies, leases, and claims in Manchuria, Port Arthur, and on the border of Korea are completely extinguished? What is the significance of the statement that Korea in due course shall become free and independent?

3. Would you say that the most important aspect of the Cairo Declaration is not the punishment with which it threatens Japan but the recognition it both grants and promises to China? Is China actually in a position to act as a great power? Why does the Chiang-Communist dispute in China pose a major post-war problem?

4. What are the significant points made in the Teheran Declarations? Is the pledge of freedom for small nations implemented by the pledge to Iran? Is Russia emerging as the dominant power in post-war Europe?

5. What do you think Britain's position will be in the post-war world? Do you think the British Empire should and will be restored? Discuss.

6. Is there a greater chance of an anti-Nazi revolt as the result of the omission of the term "unconditional surrender"? What policy should be adopted toward a defeated Germany?

7. Is there danger that the American people will repudiate participation in and joint responsibility for carrying out and enforcing the peace? Is compulsory peacetime military service a necessary implication of the Cairo Declaration? Do these Cairo and Teheran declarations indicate the formation of a collective security framework or the workings of the old system of balance of power?

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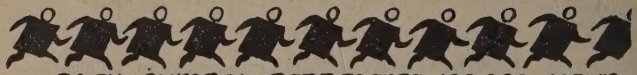

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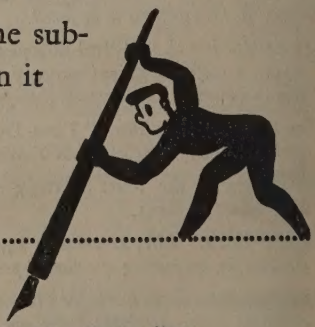

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